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Sacred vs. Profane in *The Great War: A Neutral's Indictment*

Louis Raemaekers's Use of Religious Imagery in *Adoration of the Magi* and *Our Lady of Antwerp*

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At the onset of the First World War in August 1914, Germany invaded France and Belgium, resulting in almost immediate British intervention and provoking a firestorm of protest throughout Western Europe. Belgium's small military was overmatched and reduced to fighting skirmishes as the Kaiser's war machine headed toward France. Belgian civilians, as they had during the Franco-Prussian War, resisted by taking up arms. Snipers and ambushes slowed the Germans' advance. In retaliation, German troops massacred Belgian men, women, and children. Cities, villages, and farms were burned and plundered.¹

Belgian neutrality meant nothing to the German master plan to invade and defeat France before the Russian army could effectively mobilize in the east. Belgium was in no position to resist the German army's aggressive maneuvers. The Germans' terrible overreaction, however, brought about a storm of condemnation from France, Great Britain, and groups within the Netherlands. The United States officially condemned Germany's aggression. Not surprisingly, Belgium's tragic plight became a major source of anti-German propaganda that was used by writers and visual artists alike. One such artist was the talented, prolific illustrator and political cartoonist, Louis Raemaekers.

Like most political cartoonists of his day, Raemaekers used a variety of visual touchstones in his cartoons. Some of his most powerful illustrations drew on traditional religious imagery common in medieval and Renaissance Roman Catholic art. This article will focus on two of his exceptionally beautiful cartoons, *The Adoration of the Magi* and *Our Lady of Antwerp*, which were reproduced in *The Great War: A Neutral's Indictment*, published in 1916 by the Fine Arts Society in London. Aside from their beauty, there are several reasons for looking more closely at these images. As with most medieval devotional works of art, there is more meaning to their content than can be discerned at first glance. Examining these works in the context in which they were created—the sociopolitical climate of Northern Europe, the tradition of religious imagery in this geographical area, and the artist's life and



Louis Raemaekers in his studio on July 28, 1917.

career—serves to expand the viewer's understanding of the images and their impact on World War I-era audiences.

Early Life and Career

The personal experiences of artists have significant impacts on how their styles develop and careers progress. In Louis Raemaekers's case, his early life experiences provided a favorable environment for fostering the development of a political cartoonist. Raemaekers was born in the town of Roermond, the Netherlands, in 1869 to a Dutch father, Joseph (Jos) Raemaekers, and a German mother, Amelie Michels. Jos was both a successful entrepreneur and an artist from whom Louis inherited his artistic talent as well as his determination and strong personality.² He owned the liberal newspaper, *De Volkvriend*, and was firmly on the side of the anticlerical movement. Louis was raised in this

extremely liberal Catholic household. He was nominally a Catholic all his life, but not a devout one. His frequent references to the Bible and to Christianity in his artwork were not exactly a reflection of his own convictions.³ He studied art in both Brussels and Amsterdam, where he undoubtedly saw many fine examples of Northern European painters from the Gothic⁴ and early Renaissance periods.⁵ He worked as a drawing instructor, portraitist, and illustrator between 1883 and 1906, when his career as a political cartoonist commenced.⁶

Disgusted and horrified by the invasion of Belgium, Raemaekers actively opposed Dutch neutrality in the first years of the First World War. He worked for many publications⁷ over his career, but his political stance was a problem for many Dutch readers at this time. His 1914 cartoon about the attack on Reims Cathedral, *The Very Stones Cry Out*, resulted in a formal complaint that he was violating section 100 of the Dutch criminal code addressing wartime neutrality.⁸ This cartoon was published in *De Telegraaf*, a strongly pro-Allied publication. Editor-in-chief Kick Schroeder strongly defended Raemaekers's work against the complaint. *De Telegraaf* refused to terminate Raemaekers's employment as a cartoonist; his contributions to the newspaper continued for over forty years.⁹



The Very Stones Cry Out, 1914

In the tense and chaotic political climate of wartime Europe, Raemaekers's images attacking the Central Powers were considered to be incendiary by German critics. It was widely rumored, but never confirmed, that his work so enraged the German government that a bounty was placed on his head. Despite official opposition, he continued to publish and hold exhibitions of his work in the Netherlands. He moved his family to Great Britain in 1916 and later traveled to the United States, becoming a significant contributor to Allied propaganda in both countries, even touring the front at the behest of the British government in 1916. There he created what art historian Ariane de Ranitz refers to as "his more journalistic work," sketching everything he saw from the trenches to the troops to devastated villages, which demonstrated his ability to produce drawings quickly.¹⁰ His work was reproduced in British and American publications during and immediately after the war. Raemaekers achieved remarkable popularity as a political illustrator in the United States. Charles Press, in his book *The Political Cartoon*, mentions "ten or more articles on Louis Raemaekers in the American popular magazines between

1915 and 1918. He was hired by [William Randolph] Hearst, made a whirlwind trip to America in 1918, and was consistently treated with lionizing reverence in America."¹¹ J. Murray Allison, in his foreword to *Kultur in Cartoons*, quoted at least a dozen US publications that printed laudatory critiques of Raemaekers's work, including New York's *Evening Post*, the *Boston Globe*, and *Vanity Fair*.¹²

The Belgian Invasion and Anti-German Propaganda

Several of Raemaekers's cartoons reproduced in *The Great War: A Neutral's Indictment* were inspired by Belgium's plight. His was by no means the only critical voice. Germany's brutal invasion of Belgium set off a firestorm of protest. Newspapers, politicians, and other public figures on both sides of the Atlantic decried this blatant violation of the Treaty of London which had officially recognized Belgium's neutrality. Germany was viewed as a ravenous beast, grabbing at land and resources, massacring any and all who stood in its way.

At the same time, German leaders declared that they were justified by the imperatives of war and a higher religious morality. "*Gott mit uns*" (God is with us) was a phrase frequently spouted by Kaiser Wilhelm, the Reichstag, military leaders, and religious leaders; however, invoking sanctimonious "on the side of the angels" arguments was not exclusive to the Central Powers. Allied governments also made pleas that included claims of divine support. Hew Strachan, a leading historian of World War I, has emphasized how both sides openly referred to the conflict in terms of a "Holy War." All the major powers could and did proclaim the moral high ground while issuing dire warnings about the fate of humanity if their opponents should win.¹³ In terms of propaganda and public perception, the war had become a desperate struggle for civilization.

This "Holy War" stance was bolstered by the Germans' deeply engrained hostility toward Catholicism.¹⁴ Northern Germany was predominantly Lutheran. Dislike for Roman Catholicism was related to cultural and political divisions that spanned four centuries. In more recent decades, suspicion of Catholics had become inseparable from popular resentments directed against imperial France and even against the Hapsburg dynasty that ruled Austria-Hungary (ironically, Germany's major ally). In July of 1870, two simultaneous events firmly established anti-Catholic feeling in Germany: the onset of the Franco-Prussian War and the First Vatican Council's declaration of papal infallibility.¹⁵ The papal pronouncement in particular cast renewed suspicion on German Catholics, whose loyalties were in question: did their allegiance lie with Rome, or with the Kaiser and the new Reich?¹⁶

The German premise for arguing that this "Holy War" existed had two significant historical precedents. Both were decidedly anti-Catholic:

The first, forged by the French army in the Vendée and the Peninsular War, saw Catholic priests as the orchestrators of local guerillas and resistance

movements. The second was Bismarck's anti-Catholic *Kulturkampf*. The stories of German atrocities often had priests and nuns as their victims. If they accepted the accusations, German soldiers excused their actions as responses to 'conspiratorial Catholicism;' if they denied them, their prosecutors cited as evidence the physical destruction suffered by churches, notably at Louvain and Reims.¹⁷

Belgian politicians and clergy reacted to the German invasion by making a nationwide call to take up arms, and reminding Belgian Catholics that defending their faith was divinely mandated. "For Catholics themselves, their sufferings were an opportunity to re-establish the links between church and state. Cardinal Désiré-Joseph Mercier, archbishop of Mechelen, became a symbol of resistance. In his 1914 Christmas message he told his flock that, 'The religion of Christ makes patriotism a law; there is no perfect Christian who is not a perfect patriot.'"¹⁸ Ironically, this was much the same sentiment detectable in the Central Powers' propaganda justifying their role in the conflict.

Germany's religious and moral pretensions were attacked by Allied religious and secular leaders as well as political commentators. "The Germans were portrayed not merely as anti-Catholic but frequently also as anti-Christian. The root of this second charge was liberal theology. In Germany, biblical scholarship had neglected faith in favour of research, religion in favor of rationality, and so removed the moral force from Christian teaching. The invasion of Belgium was cited as evidence, the act of a society which denied the natural law of the civilized world."¹⁹

The overall propaganda strategy went well beyond the typical "us vs. them" argument; it evolved into a matter of the "sacred" vs. the "profane." This proved to be a powerful, if dangerous, tool for those on both sides to promote ongoing popular support for the war. Not surprisingly, many artists, particularly political cartoonists like Raemaekers, turned to religious images to stimulate public support for waging war. Their artistic works proved to be a highly effective way to rally the masses. Raemaekers knew his audience well. He made clever use of religious imagery to its fullest extent.

Raemaekers as Political Cartoonist

According to Charles Press, there are three elements to political cartoons. "One is the picture of reality that artists present to us as the essence of truth. A second message, sometimes very sketchily implied, as to what they recommend ought to be done on behalf of the deserving."²⁰ In the case of the two cartoons highlighted in this article, the picture of reality is the devastation of Belgium by the Germany army. The recommended action put forth by Raemaekers's *Adoration of the Magi* (Figure 2) is the utter rejection of the Central Powers. In *Our Lady of Antwerp* (Figure 3), he calls for the defense of Belgian civilians and support of the wounded, beleaguered Belgian troops. "Finally, through artistic technique and allegorical imagery, the artist creates a mood telling us how we

should feel over what is happening."²¹ The mood that both cartoons project is one of horror, outrage, sympathy, and a moral imperative to act in favor of the Belgians in particular and the Allies in general.

Raemaekers utilized a realistic figural approach to convey these three elements to his audience. His drawing technique had much in common with that of Honoré Daumier²² as well as that of Käthe Kollwitz.²³ Ariane de Ranitz, author of *Louis Raemaekers: "Armed with Pen and Pencil,"* also mentions the obvious influence of his contemporaries Jean-Louis Forain and Theophile Steinlein, as well as the Belgian artist James Ensor.²⁴ Reasons for Raemaekers's adoption of a realistic style included accessibility and familiarity—his audience was the public at large, not the artistic elite. His art served a similar purpose but with an eye to convincing the people to support the efforts against the Central Powers.

Horne and Kramer write, "Raemaekers became the single most influential figure in projecting the Allied vision of the German enemy to home audiences and to the rest of the world."²⁵ De Ranitz divided his work into three distinct periods. During his time in the Netherlands his theme was dominated "by invasion of Belgium and his pointed criticism of the Netherlands' neutral stance."²⁶ His relocation to England marked the second period, which brought his work to the attention of readers outside of the Netherlands. It was during this time that he achieved an international reputation, owing to an exhibition of his work at the Fine Arts Society in London and the publication of *The Great War: A Neutral's Indictment*.²⁷ He was then "deployed as a citizen of a neutral country for purpose of the Allied war propagandist."²⁸ During the third period, he toured the United States and drew mainly for the American press and from the American point of view.²⁹

Raemaekers's cartoons can be subdivided into distinct subject categories, including the "theme of war in general; acts of war by Germany; impact of German acts of war on the victims; the neutral stance of the Netherlands; the attitude of other Allied and Central Powers; wartime situations on the different fronts, particularly the Western Front; the attitude of other neutral countries, specifically the United States."³⁰ The symbolic features of his cartoons include "national symbols, animal symbols, symbols of time, life and death, abstract symbols, symbols from literature, mythology, and fairy tales, Christian symbols, historic symbols, linguistic symbols."³¹ Both the *Adoration of the Magi* and *Our Lady of Antwerp* fit into the "acts of war by Germany" category. *Our Lady of Antwerp* also fits into the "impact of German acts of war on the victims" category, since it shows the devastation caused by a German attack.

Charles Press evaluates Raemaekers's wartime cartoons in a negative light. He writes that Raemaekers "...looks today like a dreadful atrocity-monger par excellence. Nothing was too monstrous for him to believe about the Germans. But what he drew with such deep emotion and heavy religious symbolism seems now to have been drawn for cheap effect. Partly, he was a nineteenth century liberal reacting in disbelief....I incline to the opinion expressed

by an anonymous Englishman in the London *Times* of 1916 that these atrocity cartoons also had something very childish about them, 'as if the Kaiser and the Crown Prince belonged to nursery stories rather than to real life.' But Raemaekers, with his simple-minded bogeyman stories, had an impact on American cartoonists."³²

This assessment is a harsh one, considering that this was true of most anti-German propagandists of the time, be they visual or otherwise. While exaggerated in some reports, many of the German brutalities were affirmed later by both Allied and German troops on the Western and Eastern fronts. Furthermore, Raemaekers was not the first politically motivated artist to depict bloody, gruesome scenes. One need only look at Jacques Callot's 1630 *Hanging Tree* from *The Miseries of War*,³³ which depicts at least eighteen hanged corpses, or Goya's mutilated bodies and scenes of rape in his *Disasters of War*.³⁴ Raemaekers's shocking depictions were similar when he vilified Germans because of their treatment of Belgium and the Belgian people. It could be argued that he was in many ways more restrained in his depictions than either of these two predecessors. Regardless of how one may interpret the overall intent, Press's statement does not detract from Raemaekers's skill as an artist nor does Press's assessment argue against Raemaekers's ability to communicate with audiences of different national backgrounds.

Another counterpoint to Press's statement lies in the fact that Raemaekers did not hate the German people or even despise a majority of the German troops. According to Raemaekers's friend, H. Murray Robinson, "His cartoons are not the utterance of a Germanophobe. They are the voice only of an enraged and horror-stricken conscience."³⁵ Raemaekers knew that the blame for the war rested squarely on the head of the government. Naturally, he portrayed German officials and those among the troops that committed massacres in a black light; however, his understanding of the awful situation in which well-intentioned German men found themselves is evidenced by the sympathetic portrait of a German soldier attempting to comfort a fallen British rifleman in *Is That You, Mother?*³⁶ Although this image of a compassionate German is rare in Raemaekers's drawings, it does show that he was aware of German acts of mercy at the front.

Raemaekers's style has much in common with that of Honoré Daumier. Both used a stark realistic style to depict their subjects. This choice of style was driven by the nature of the publications for which they worked and a desire to capture the full awareness of their audience. To get their message across, newspapers and magazines required realistic, easily "read" images. "The First World War attracted a new kind of readership, often more visually oriented and more open to the appeal of a cartoon than of a lengthy article. Raemaekers's cartoons were so popular because they were informative and true to life without much humour. This made them extremely suitable for getting the message across to readers who were not really politically aware."³⁷ Whereas the more "modern" styles of the early twentieth century were understood only by a relative few, Raemaekers's art asked questions that his images forced his audience to confront head on.

A Brief Description of *The Great War: A Neutral's Indictment*

The edition of *The Great War: A Neutral's Indictment* (Figure 1) forming the basis for the present discussion is a large flat volume, measuring forty-seven centimeters in length, with a tan-colored cover bound at the corners and spine with a very light-colored buckram. The buckram edges of the spine and corners are enhanced by gold lines. The title and publisher's name³⁸ are emblazoned in gold print on small, dark red backgrounds at the top and bottom of the spine, with a gold long-stemmed thistle-like design running the length between. It is described on the book's second leaf as an "edition de luxe" with a limited printing of "1,050 copies, of which 1,000 are for sale."³⁹ On the left-hand side of the opening after the title page is mounted a photographic portrait of Raemaekers, under which appears his angular, elegant signature; facing this is the beginning of the journalist H. Perry Robinson's essay of appreciation on the artist's work.⁴⁰ The paper is of high quality and handmade, slightly gray in color, with gilded edges at the head and deckle edges at the tail and fore edge. Each plate has an accompanying title page, which, in most cases, includes quotes from famous people, official and unofficial, from the front lines and other writings.

The plates consist of one hundred of Raemaekers's World War I cartoons and illustrations, a dozen of which include some form of Christian imagery. As mentioned previously, this article will highlight two of the images published in *The Great War: A Neutral's Indictment*: *The Adoration of the Magi* (1915) and *Our Lady of Antwerp* (1914).



Figure 1: *The Great War: A Neutral's Indictment*, 1916.

Analysis of *The Adoration of the Magi* and *Our Lady of Antwerp*

There are several reasons for focusing on these two cartoons. The first is practicality. Raemaekers's output of religious-themed images was large enough to warrant a book-length study, so it is necessary to be selective. The second reason is the quality of the two images. They are among his most detailed and beautifully colored illustrations. Moreover, they are excellent examples of Raemaekers's modification of traditional medieval and early Northern Renaissance devotional paintings, his employment of Gothic decoration, and his use of traditionally Catholic coloration and arrangement to emphasize the paradox between the

"holy war" propaganda of Germany and the unholy consequences of that war. His use of the Gothic style was a symbolic reference to Belgium, recognizable to readers of the time. Furthermore, the two images are excellent examples of Raemaekers's approach to political cartoons: "Indeed in most of Raemaekers cartoons it is not humour that dominates but a grim depiction of reality, or at least what Raemaekers takes to be reality...what his cartoons lack in terms of humour, Raemaekers makes up for in the other emotions. His drawings simultaneously arouse revulsion at the Germans, compassion for the Belgians, and sympathy and admiration for the Allies."⁴¹

The Adoration of the Magi

The Adoration of the Magi (Figure 2) is plate 1 and frontispiece in *The Great War: A Neutral's Indictment*. Its original title was *The Three Kings from the East*, *De drie koningen uit het Oosten* in Dutch. It was not one of his *De Telegraaf* illustrations; rather "...it was published in the third part of *Het Toppunt der Beschaving*, which appeared early in 1915. It was later used for the *Dessins d'un Neutre* series of postcards..." The commentary that accompanies the cartoon states, "This picture, one of the most consummate pieces of satire in the whole of this collection, is not, as many imagine, founded on any particular painting, but is a creation of Mr. Raemaekers, emanating from his knowledge of the works of all the great painters of the Flemish School. It expresses the artist's abhorrence of the claims of Divine approval of the foul deeds sanctioned by the German Monarch and his confederates."⁴³

Raemaekers's depiction of this scene echoes certain basic compositional features of Netherlandish depictions that developed during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.⁴⁴ Mary is seated with the infant Jesus in her arms, wearing the traditional blue robe over a red underdress and white veil upon her slightly bowed head, her eyes lowered. Joseph stands behind her, one hand raised, his body projecting out of the frame of the scene in the manner of Master Honoré⁴⁵ or Jean Pucelle's illuminations.⁴⁶ The holy family is arranged within a creche, with a flat roof of wooden slats supported by wooden poles. A black-and-white cow peers into the scene behind Mary's and Jesus's heads. In front of Mary and Jesus, the Magi are posed in a diagonal arrangement, two kneeling, the last figure standing yet slightly bent forward. Behind the group is a landscape in which an event or activity is taking place. The composition is flanked by two pilasters, decorated at the tops with dramatically pointed Gothic trefoil gables and cross-like finials. This is where the similarities to earlier Adorations end. The rest of Raemaekers's composition is in direct opposition to the warm, peaceful, domesticated Nativity or Adoration scenes of the fifteenth-century Flemish painters Jan van Eyck and Gerard David.

The Magi are satirical portraits of the Central Powers' leaders. Kaiser Wilhelm II, wearing the armor of a medieval knight, a red ermine trimmed cape, and the golden German crown jewels, kneels to present his offering of a large artillery shell. Kneeling behind him, Franz Josef I of Austria-Hungary, clad in armor, a gold cape, and wearing the imperial crown of the Holy Roman Empire, offers a howitzer. Next in line is Sultan Mehmet V of the Ottoman Empire, dressed in what was then referred to as an "oriental costume" of a multi-colored and luxuriously patterned robe over a dark blue tunic, with a crown on top of his white, black, and red figured turban. He holds out a bloody scimitar as an offering. Raemaekers diverges from the traditional positioning of the Magi, where the oldest Magus, Caspar, is shown as kneeling before the Child, while Melchior and Balthasar are shown either bending/standing directly behind him or are standing nearby. Wilhelm at this time was in his mid-fifties, while Franz Joseph and Mehmed were both in their seventies and eighties, respectively. Raemaekers viewed the Germans as the chief villains in the conflict, which is likely why he placed Wilhelm at the front of the line.

The overall feeling of *Adoration* is one of sorrow and devastation. Joseph, rather than raising his hand in wonder or celebration, as is the case in medieval and Renaissance paintings, instead lifts his eyes to heaven in a horrified lament.⁴⁷ In Netherlandish Adorations, the infant Jesus either reaches toward the kneeling Caspar or makes a sign of blessing and welcome. Here He hides His face in His hands in horror and sorrow, effectively rejecting the "offerings." Mary's expression is melancholy rather than maternal or loving. She does not present the Child to the Magi; rather she holds Him close in her arms in a comforting yet protective position, His head tucked into her shoulder and neck.

Typically, Northern European Adoration scenes with Mary and the infant Jesus showed a peaceful rural or city landscape. Allegorical scenes could also be depicted, such as that found in Jan van Eyck's *Virgin and Child with Chancellor Rolin*.⁴⁸ In Raemaekers's interpretation,



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Figure 2: *The Adoration of the Magi*, Louis Raemaekers, *The Great War: A Neutral's Indictment*, 1916, Plate 1.

a battle is taking place in the background, reminiscent of a medieval Crusade conflict. Armed soldiers, some on horseback, dissolve into a violent, confusing mass of spears, swords, and bows. Two archers in the upper right of the picture prepare to shoot arrows at two approaching horsemen. A town with a large tower, fort, or church is burning. This can be interpreted as a slap at Germany's "crusade" to conquer Europe.⁴⁹ White smoke rises directly behind the three Magi, a feature which serves to keep them from blending into the chaotic melee in the background and to highlight their culpability for the carnage.

The Holy Family's humility and purity, symbolized by the rude stable and their plain clothing, is in contrast to the vanity and perverse nature of the Central Powers expressed through their jewels, their armor, and by the gifts of death and battle. Two mounds of white flowers create a barrier, perhaps a symbol of the Holy Family's purity as well. "There is hardly any better example of Raemaekers's use of the contrast between good and evil. In this work—whose style and framing hark back to the Flemish masters—the purity of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph

is literally set off against the hypocritical brutality of the Kaiser and his accomplices. When the cartoon appeared in Part 8 of the Land & Water series in 1916, the introduction referred to it as *The Adoration of the Magi*, which is esteemed by many critics as the most beautiful as well as the most satirical of all Raemaker's [sic] cartoons."⁵⁰

Raemaekers used the Adoration theme for other cartoons, including *The Sacrifice* (Plate 95 of *The Great War*), which shows Mary, surrounded by lamenting Belgian women and children, holding up the infant Jesus with His arms outstretched and His feet crossed as if He were already hanging on the cross.⁵¹ He also provided an Adoration scene for Emil Cammaerts's *The Adoration of the Soldiers* (*L'Adoration des Soldats*). The foreword to the book states that, "*The Adoration of the Soldiers* is a short mystery play which was suggested to Mons. Cammaerts during a visit which he paid to the Belgian Trenches in Christmas week. It is written in the manner of the old medieval French and English Nativity Plays, and with the same genuine and almost childish simplicity. In introducing the Virgin and Child among modern soldiers in a miserable

dug-out, the author has endeavoured to show that the spirit for which we are fighting today is fundamentally the same as that which prompted the Crusades and erected the Cathedrals in the Middle Ages.”⁵² Raemaekers also sketched a triptych showing *The Adoration of the Soldiers* for the title page in much the same format as *Our Lady of Antwerp*.

Our Lady of Antwerp Triptych

Raemaekers’s *Our Lady of Antwerp* (Figure 3) originally dates from October of 1914. It is plate 19 in *The Great War*. The main theme is the devastation of Antwerp and its world-famous cathedral. The seated figure of Mary dominates the center panel. She is the *Mater dolorosa*, the Mother of Sorrows, as is signified by the red heart on her bodice through which the tips of three swords have been stabbed. Her head is canted to the left, one hand gesturing to the panel on her left, the other to the panel on the right. Her expression is calm but sad. She wears the traditional blue robe over a red underdress and white veil. A jeweled crown sits atop her head. She is flanked by two much smaller white winged angels in green robes, their hands clasped in prayer and supplication. The five-century-old Antwerp cathedral that stands in the background is a recognizable landmark that was the center of worship and, symbolically, a center of morality now surrounded by fire and devastation.

The side panels, instead of containing the usual stoic saints or patrons who commissioned the triptych such as those shown on Gerard David’s *Sedano Triptych*⁵³ or Hieronymous Bosch’s *Adoration of the Magi*⁵⁴ triptych, depict a distraught woman in a widow’s costume of a black kerchief and long, dark dress to the Virgin’s right (the viewer’s left) and a wounded/dying soldier to her left (the viewer’s right).⁵⁵ The widow presses her torso and extended right arm against the border between the side and center panels as if she were on the verge of collapse. Her head is thrown back dramatically, her left elbow points heavenward as her left hand clutches her head in despair. The gesture has dislodged her black kerchief which falls back to reveal her blond hair. Her pretty face is a mask of grief and horror. Behind her, refugees flee the burning city, carrying large bundles of their belongings, a scene that was recounted by eyewitnesses to the attack.⁵⁶

The soldier on the right panel is wounded, bleeding from his temple while his left arm is swathed in a thick white sling. He rests his right forearm and hand on the side of the frame; his knees are beginning to buckle underneath his weight. He wears a long dark blue coat, gray trousers, and combat boots. Behind him, an artillery shell explodes in a column of white light, blowing debris skyward. A company of soldiers falls to the ground, presumably hit by shrapnel or thrown down by the explosion’s concussion. As he did in the *Adoration*, Raemaekers uses the smoke from the fire to highlight the awful effects of the German shelling—the upper body of the distraught widow, the imperiled cathedral, and the dying soldier.

The gestures of the *Mater dolorosa* are significant. While her head is inclined and hand open toward the widow, her other hand appears to be making a sign of blessing toward the soldier. This emphasizes her sympathetic sorrow for the plight of the widow and the refugees and at the same time recognizes the soldier for his sacrifice. The message is that Europe, and the Netherlands in particular, have a moral obligation to show Belgium the same recognition and support.

Images of the *Mater dolorosa* were common in the Netherlands. The cult of the Seven Sorrows⁵⁷ became popular in the Low Countries during the late Gothic period.⁵⁸ The fact that there are only three swords used in Raemaekers’s drawing is not unusual. Historically, the number of swords shown in *Mater dolorosa* paintings and sculptures varied. For example, Bernard van Orley’s *Seven Sorrows of the Virgin* shows only one piercing her chest as she languishes as the foot of the cross, signifying the Crucifixion, while the other six sorrows are shown in rondels around the figure of the crucified Christ.⁵⁹

What is the significance of the three swords? There are a number of possibilities. Perhaps Raemaekers meant to tie the Belgian persecution by the invading army to the last three, most devastating Sorrows: the Crucifixion, Deposition, and Entombment. The fleeing refugees in the background of the widow’s panel suggest the Flight into Egypt, and the soldier’s and widow’s postures echo those of mourners at the Deposition in many medieval and Renaissance paintings. Possibly Raemaekers was using the swords as a pictorial device suggesting the sorrows of war caused by the three Central Powers depicted in the *Adoration*. Regardless of which interpretation fits best, using the *Mater dolorosa* image underscores the suffering of the Belgian people. Her posture and gestures are a direct appeal to neutral Europeans to come to the aid of the beleaguered country.

The triptych, like the *Adoration*, displays elements taken from medieval Gothic architectural decoration; however, the triptych’s decoration is far more elaborate. Intricate trefoil and quatrefoil tracery embellish the interiors of the pointed arches. Delicate flame-like projections dot the top of the arches and finials. The vertical borders are drawn as if they were the slender pillars of pointed arches or lancet windows. At the top of each pillar, just underneath the beginning of the arch, is a tiny statue with a carved canopy above its head. They are too small to identify as particular saints or biblical figures, but they are certainly meant as a reference to the figures on the façade of the cathedral. The base of the triptych is enhanced with tiny trefoil carvings.

Aside from the obvious religious references, Raemaekers’s inclusion of these exceptionally elaborate Gothic or Gothic-like decorations may have had another source, one that arose out of the Gothic Revival in Europe. The Gothic Revival period began in the mid-nineteenth century, spreading throughout Western Europe, including the Netherlands, France, Great Britain,⁶⁰ and across the



PLATE 19

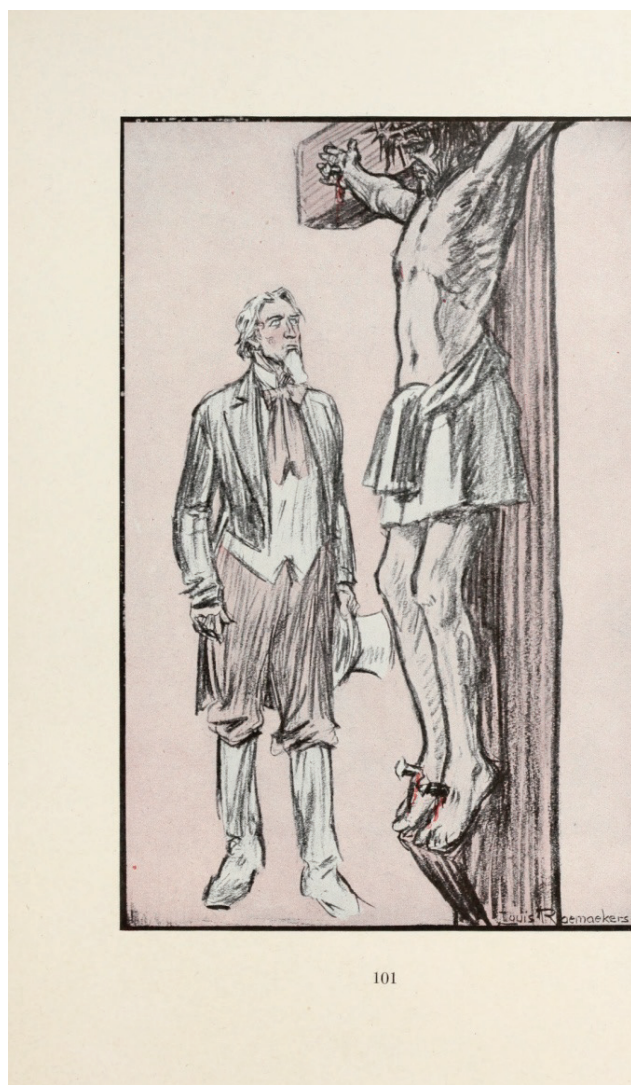
Figure 3: *Our Lady of Antwerp*, Louis Raemaekers, *The Great War: A Neutral's Indictment*, 1916, Plate 19.

Atlantic to North America. The most obvious products of this movement were buildings, usually churches; however, the style also manifested itself in painting, decorative arts, and other media. Raemaekers would have seen evidence of this revival throughout his life. Certain features of the triptych, such as the tiny flame decorations, are similar to those of Belgian Gothic Revival artist Jean-Baptiste Bethune's reredos of the Crucifixion, now located in the Church of St. John the Baptist in Afsee.⁶¹ Belgium, in particular, embraced the Gothic Revival style as a nationalistic statement, one that united both Catholics and liberals.⁶² This allegiance would have appealed to Raemaekers. He might have hoped that using Gothic Revival features in his cartoons would further emphasize the allegiance between the Netherlands, Belgium, France, and Great Britain.

Our Lady of Antwerp is not the only cartoon by Raemaekers that features a ravaged cathedral or landmark. The burning of the university at Leuven and the assault on Rheims cathedral in France later that same year,⁶³ both inspired other drawings on this theme. *The Saints of Reims Cathedral 'Thou are the man!'* (Plate 26 of *The Great War*) originally created for *De Telegraaf*,⁶⁴ shows two of its statues pointing accusing fingers at a cowering German soldier, while the cathedral burns in the background. As mentioned earlier, this cartoon caused Raemaekers considerable problems with the national wartime neutrality code. Dutch officials seized the plate.⁶⁵

The destruction of another cultural landmark, the University of Leuven's library (and consequently its collection of rare books), inspired his illustration *The Fate of Flemish Art at the Hands of Kultur*. This shows four Old Masters of art—Quentin Matsys, Peter Paul Rubens, Jan van Eyck, and Hans Memling—being burned at the stake while German soldiers armed with pikes look on.⁶⁶ This was both a slap at Germany and a call to defend the Belgian culture and its Catholic foundation that these landmarks represented. "The destruction of buildings—including the University Library at [Leuven] and the cathedral at Reims—confirmed that anti-Catholicism was an element in the Germans' motivations."⁶⁷

When one views the cartoons Raemaekers produced for American newspapers, there is a noticeable change in focus. Naturally, he turned to themes that would resonate with his US audience. Uncle Sam is featured prominently, as is President Woodrow Wilson. Raemaekers introduced a Wild West/cowboy flavor into *Not This Time!*, which shows a villainous carpetbagger Kaiser skulking around a Death Valley-like cliff, while Wilson, armed with a large pistol, sneaks up behind him in the background.⁶⁸ Another Wilson/Wild West illustration, *Do You Mean to Make a Real War?*, depicts the president as a cowboy wearing a large brimmed cowboy hat and sheepskin chaps in the act of pulling a very intimidating Colt 45 out of its holster while grinning down at a shrinking, sweating Kaiser.⁶⁹ This and other cartoons were meant to appeal to America's



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Figure 4: *Is It Nothing to You, All Ye Who Pass By?*, Louis Raemaekers, *America in the War*, 1918.

strength. Several depict brave, virile American soldiers and courageous women at home and working as nurses on the front lines. These images were meant to advocate for and support the United States' involvement in the conflict. Other cartoons emphasize the mutual benefits of a British, French, and American alliance.

There was a subtle shift in how Raemaekers utilized religious imagery in his US cartoons, which further emphasized how well he knew his audience. The United States was largely a Protestant country. In response to the nation's cultural differences from Europe, he utilized a relatively non-sectarian approach to depicting religious themes during this period. These cartoons lack many of those characteristics found in his European propaganda images. None of his early references to medieval and Renaissance pageantry are included. The Gothic cathedrals are absent; the references to medieval devotional art and architectural decorative details are missing. The Marian imagery used in the *Adoration* and

Our Lady of Antwerp has been replaced by a suffering adult Christ, set in a simple or blank background, with one or more secular figures. For example, *Is It Nothing to You, All Ye Who Pass By?* shows Uncle Sam, a melancholy expression on his face, gazing up at the crucified Christ.⁷⁰ The narrative and the composition are much simplified, relying on the expressions and poses of the two characters to convey Raemaekers's message.

Further evidence of this shift away from Catholic references can be found in *Christmas 1917*. This is a Nativity scene; however, the figures of the Holy Family are now modernized, wearing early twentieth-century clothing and being menaced by German soldiers in the nearby woods.⁷¹ It has the impact of Raemaekers's other religious works, but without the elaborate Gothic or neo-Gothic flourishes that would have appealed to his European audiences.

Postwar Life and Career

Raemaekers continued to exhibit and publish his cartoons throughout the interwar years until the end of World War II. During the 1920s and 1930s, he began traveling more frequently, documenting his trips in paintings and drawings. He continued to work for *De Telegraaf*, designed posters, created advertisements for public services announcements,⁷² and collaborated on a comic strip titled *Flippie Flink*.⁷³ He kept up a prolific correspondence with well-known politicians, including Winston Churchill.⁷⁴ He was the recipient of prestigious awards, including an honorary doctorate from the University of Glasgow and Officer de la Legion d'Honneur from the French government.⁷⁵ He also received a cross of honor of Commendatore dell'Ordine della Corona d'Italia, issued by Prime Minister Benito Mussolini on behalf of the Italian royal family.⁷⁶

Forced to relocate to the United States during World War II, Raemaekers continued to produce prodigious numbers of political cartoons. His satirizing of the Axis Powers, particularly Adolf Hitler, were as effective as his lampooning of the Kaiser. His style remained consistent during the period between 1918 and 1949. He returned to those themes that served him well during World War I. If there is a discernable difference, it is in his religious images. He did not return to his Gothic-inspired depictions of the early 1910s. As in the work *Is It Nothing to You, All Ye Who Pass By?* (Figure 4), he used simple compositions and fewer details to project his message. His *New York Herald Tribune* cartoon titled *Europeans, I Presume*, in which Hitler viciously whips a swastika-cross-bearing Christ while Uncle Sam looks on in horror, is one such example.⁷⁷

Raemaekers continued to live overseas until 1953, when his family persuaded him to return to the Netherlands. He died there, aged eighty-seven, in July of 1956.⁷⁸

Conclusion

In an age when Christian images still elicited powerful and positive responses, the religious subjects contained within Raemaekers's political cartoons had a considerable impact on his audience. By drawing upon historical artistic subject matter that was readily recognizable to European attendees of his exhibitions as well as to those who purchased his publications, he assured that his cartoons' message would reach a wide readership. His allusions to medieval and Renaissance devotional imagery, coupled with depictions of the horrors of war, served as a harsh indictment of the Central Powers' aggressions. Furthermore, his use of "sacred" imagery to promote a secular, pro-military response to the German invasion of Belgium was meant to create a sense of outrage among the European (and later, the American) public and inspire popular support for military intervention. He was able to apply this formula successfully over the span of both World Wars.

The level of analysis of *The Adoration of the Magi* and *Our Lady of Antwerp* undertaken in this article was likely unnecessary for World War I-era readers of *The Great War: A Neutral's Indictment*. Today, the book and Raemaekers's cartoons in general are still striking on a visual level. However, twenty-first-century observers who are not familiar with art history or World War I require a certain level of decoding of his images to appreciate the significance of the religious theme and why it was so impactful at the time. It is interesting to consider, in an age when Christianity is often lampooned in the press at best and vilified at worst, whether modern-day attempts at political cartoons like Raemaekers's would receive anything but a negative reception, particularly if they championed military action. On the positive side, Raemaekers's depictions of human suffering during war would appeal to those committed to non-violent political resolution of international differences in any era. ■

Author Bio

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End Notes

¹ Alexander Watson, *The Ring of Steel: Germany and Austria-Hungary in World War I* (New York: Basic Books, 2014), 127. "The German right wing was the epicentre of violence in which other armies further south also participated, and which resulted that summer and autumn in the murder of 5,521 Belgian and 906 French civilians, and the deliberate demolition of between 15,000 and 20,000 buildings."

² Ariane de Ranitz, *Louis Raemaekers: "Armed with Pen and Pencil: How a Dutch Cartoonist Became World Famous During the First World War"* (Roermond, The Netherlands: Louis Raemaekers Foundation, 2014), 24.

³ Ibid., 266.

⁴ Marilyn Stokstad, *Medieval Art* (New York: Harper and Row, 1986), 265. According to Stokstad, the Gothic style "dominated the arts from 1150 to 1450, and in some places lasted into the sixteenth century."

⁵ Ethan Matt Kavalier, "Renaissance Gothic in the Netherlands: The Uses of Ornament," *Art Bulletin*, 82 (June 2000): 226. Kavalier argues that there was an intermediate period in the Netherlands known as "Renaissance Gothic," that developed sometime between the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Examples of this style can be found in the works of Jan Gossaert, Bernard van Orley, and Quentin Massys.

⁶ de Ranitz, 36-51.

⁷ Ibid., 44-52. Raemaekers' employment as an illustrator was not limited to newspapers and periodicals. He also illustrated works of fiction, including children's books, short story collections, and novels. He designed book covers and worked as a portrait painter.

⁸ Ibid., 89. The Code stated that, "A person who, in the event of a war in which the Netherlands is not involved, intentionally performs any action that endangers the neutrality of the state, shall be punished by a term of imprisonment not exceeding six years." No formal charge against Raemaekers was ever brought.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid., 159.

¹¹ Charles Press, *The Political Cartoon* (East Brunswick, N.J.: Associated University Presses, Inc., 1981), 161. Charles O. Press,

¹² Louis Raemaekers, *Kultur in Cartoons* (New York: The Century Co., 1918-1919), n.p.

¹³ Hew Strachan, *The First World War: Volume 1, To Arms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 1116. "The [newspaper] *Solingen Tageblatt* on 5 August declared that this is 'a holy war': 'Germany can and is not allowed to lose...if she loses so, too, does the world lose its light, its home of justice. In Britain, the bishop of London, Arthur Winnington-Ingram, was of the view that 'the Church can best help the nation first of all by making it realise that it is engaged in a Holy War, and not be afraid of saying so.'"

¹⁴ Historically, anti-Catholic sentiment was centered in northern Germany, and mainly in Protestant Prussia.

¹⁵ Peter Watson, *The German Genius: Europe's Third Renaissance, the Second Scientific Revolution and the Twentieth Century* (New York: Harper Collins, 2010), 421.

¹⁶ Ibid., 422.

¹⁷ Strachan, 1117.

¹⁸ Ibid., 1116-17.

¹⁹ Ibid., 1119.

²⁰ Press, 62.

²¹ Ibid., 64.

²² Honoré Daumier, "Rue Transnonain, le 15 avril 1834" National

Gallery of Art, last accessed July 16, 2018. <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.6133.html>. Daumier was a mid-nineteenth-century French caricaturist and political cartoonist who was known for his work with the illustrated journals *La Caricature* and *Le Charivari*.

²³ Marilyn Stokstad, *Art: A Brief History* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2000), 422-23. Käthe Kollwitz was a German Expressionist artist who championed socialistic causes. "Art for her was a political tool, and to reach as many people as possible, she became a printmaker."

²⁴ de Ranitz, 123.

²⁵ Ibid., 257.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Additional information on *The Great War: A Neutral's Indictment* and other published collections of Raemaekers's work can be found in chapters 5-8 of de Ranitz, 115-243.

²⁸ Ibid., 258.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid., 259-62.

³¹ Ibid., 263.

³² Ibid., 161.

³³ Ibid., 139. Jacques Callot was a seventeenth-century printmaker from Lorraine. He lived and worked in Italy until the time of the Thirty Years' War, when the Duke of Lorraine ordered him to return. During the war he created "...The Large Miseries and Misfortunes of War, a series that presents the life of a soldier in wartime, a tale of crimes and punishments." Jacques Callot, "The Hanging", from *The Miseries and the Misfortunes of War (Les Grandes Misères de la Guerre)*, Michael C. Carlos Museum Collections Online, last accessed July 16, 2018, <http://carlos.digitalscholarship.emory.edu/items/show/8609>.

³⁴ Ibid., 140. "Featuring a complete set of the first published edition of etchings produced by canonical Spanish painter Francisco de Goya, *The Disasters of War* documents the horrors of the Peninsular War of 1808-14 between Spain and France under Napoleon Bonaparte. The 81 aquatint etchings, 80 numbered works from the series and one working proof, are grouped into three main sections: the effects of war, the Madrid famine of 1811-12, and the disappointment at the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy. Because of their criticism of both France and the restored Bourbon monarchy, these works were not published until 1863, three decades after Goya's death. The etchings explore such themes as carnage, conflict, famine, heroism and retribution." Francisco y Goya. "The Disasters of War" Frist Art Museum, last accessed July 16, 2018. <http://fristartmuseum.org/calendar/detail/goya-the-disasters-of-war>

³⁵ Louis Raemaekers, Harry Perry Robinson, and Edward Garnett, *The Great War: A Neutral's Indictment: One Hundred Cartoons* (London: Fine Art Society, 1916), xvii.

³⁶ Ibid., plate 75.

³⁷ de Ranitz, 267.

³⁸ *The Great War* was published by the Fine Arts Society of London. In 1915, the society began exhibiting Raemaekers's work as well as offering his original drawings and reproductions for sale. de Ranitz, 122-128.

³⁹ Raemaekers, Robinson, and Garnet, n.p.

⁴⁰ de Ranitz, 128. "The Fine Art Society's catalogue...announced the Edition de Luxe of Louis Raemaekers's *War Cartoons: A Neutral's Indictment*, which would include '100 Cartoons in Colour Facsimile, with letterpress by eminent authors'. This was published in the course of 1916 as *The Great War, a Neutral's Indictment: The first twelve Months....* Parts two and three followed in 1917 and 1919. In the ensuing months, after the success of the London exhibition, there were exhibitions of reproductions all over England Scotland and Ireland; as in the capital, these were very well received."

⁴¹ de Ranitz, 270.

⁴² Ibid., 268.

⁴³ Raemaekers, Robinson, and Garnett, accompanying text to Plate 1.

⁴⁴ Martin O'Kane, "The Artist as Reader of the Bible: Visual Exegesis and the Adoration of the Magi," *Biblical Interpretation* 13, (2005): 348-49. "By the fourth century, the Magi had come to represent the three ages of humankind (old age, middle age, and youth) and the three continents (Europe, Asia and Africa), and were given individual identities as Caspar, Melchior and Balthasar."

⁴⁵ Master Honoré. "Leaves from La Somme le Roi, c. 1300" The Fitzwilliam Museum, last accessed July 16, 2018. http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/pharos/collection_pages/middle_pages/MS_192/TXT_SE-MS_192.html. Little is known about the life of the thirteenth-century illuminator known as Master Honoré, beyond his works. He may have been the head of a successful workshop and worked for the court of Philip the Fair. He is best known for his lively compositions and his use of light.

⁴⁶ Stokstad, 328-29. Pucelle, a fourteenth-century French illuminator, is arguably best known for his illuminations of the *Petites Heures* of Jeanne d'Evreux, which is notable for his use of grisaille—a monochromatic painting technique using mostly shades of gray with small touches of color—and the elegant, swaying postures of his figures.

⁴⁷ Raemaekers, Robinson, and Garnett, Commentary accompanying Plate 1. "St. Joseph's horror of these emblems of European civilization is augmented by the Kaiser's word's accompanying his offering. They are historic: 'In these revolutionary times...the sole support and only protection of the Church are to be found in the Imperial hand and under the aegis of the German Empire.'"

⁴⁸ Jan van Eyck, *The Virgin and Child with Chancellor Rolin*. 1430/34. Height: 0.66 m. Width: 0.62 m. Paris: Musée du Louvre. Accessed May 2, 2018. <https://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/virgin-chancellor-rolin>.

⁴⁹ de Ranitz, 268.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Louis Raemaekers and James Murray Allison, *Raemaekers' Cartoon History of the War* (New York: The Century Co., 1918-1919), 179.

⁵² Emile Cammaerts, Tita Brand Cammaerts and Louis Raemaekers, *The Adoration of the Soldiers (L'adoration des Soldats)* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1916), 7.

⁵³ Gerard David. *Sedano Triptych*. 1490/95. Height: 0.97 m. Width: 0.72 m. Paris: The Louvre. Accessed May 2, 2018. http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=24001&langue=en.

⁵⁴ Hieronymus Bosch. *The Adoration of the Magi Triptych*. 1494. Grisaille and oil on oak. Madrid: Museo Del Prado. Accessed May 2, 2018. <https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/the-adoration-of-the-magi-triptych/666788cc-c522-421b-83f0-5ad84b9377f7>.

⁵⁵ Louis Raemaekers. *Raemaekers' Cartoons: with accompanying Notes by Well-Known English Writers* (Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1916), 256. 'Here I and sorrows sit. This is my throne,

bid Kings come worship it.' Such seems to be an appropriate legend for Raemaekers' beautiful triptych which he has titled 'Our Lady of Antwerp.' Full of compassion and sympathy for all the sufferings of her people, she sits with the Cathedral outlined behind her, her heart pierced with many agonies...A place of many memories, whose geographical position was well calculated to arouse the cupidity of the Germans, was bound to be gallantly defended by the little nation to which it now belonged. Whether earlier help by the British might or might not have altered the course of history we cannot tell. Perhaps it was not soon enough realized how important it was to keep the Hun invader from the sacred soil. At all events we do not look back on the British Expedition in aid of Antwerp in 1914. With any satisfaction, because the assistance rendered was either not ample enough or else it was belated, or both. So that Our Lady of Antwerp was still to bewail the ruthless tyranny of Berlin, though perhaps she looks forward to the time when, once more in possession of her own cities, Belgium, may enter upon a new course of prosperity. We are pledged to restore Belgium, doubly and trebly pledged, by the words of the Prime Minister, and justice will not be done until the great act of liberation is accomplished." W.L. Courtney.

⁵⁶ Raemaekers, Robinson, and Garnett, Commentary accompanying Plate 19. "The Flight from Antwerp, 7-8 October 1914: I saw white-haired men and women grasping the harness of the gun-teams or the stirrup-leathers of the troopers, who, themselves exhausted from many days of fighting, slept in their saddles as they rode. I saw springless farm-wagons literally heaped with wounded soldiers with piteous white faces; the bottoms of the wagons leaked and left trails of blood behind them. A very old priest, too feeble to walk, was trundled by two young priests in a handcart.

"A young woman, an expectant mother, was tenderly and anxiously helped on by her husband. Here was a group of Capuchin monks abandoning their monastery; there a little party of white-faced nuns shepherding a flock of children—many of them fatherless. The confusion was beyond all imagination...the groans of the wounded, the cries of women, the whimpering of children, threats, pleadings, oaths, screams, imprecations and always the monotonous shuffle, shuffle, shuffle of countless weary feet." Powell's "Fighting in Flanders." London, 1915.

⁵⁷ Carol M. Shuler, "The Seven Sorrows of the Virgin: Popular Culture and Cultic Imagery in Pre-Reformation Europe," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 21, no. 1/2 (1992): 7-8. "The sorrows usually adhere to the sequence compiled by Jan van Couden Berghe, and include events from Christ's infancy and Passion—the Presentation in the temple (or, more specifically, Simeon's prophecy), the Flight into Egypt, the loss of the 12-year-old Christ in the temple in Jerusalem, the Crucifixion, the Deposition (frequently altered to a Lamentation by the Cross), and the Entombment. The sorrows consist of familiar episodes from the life of Christ, transformed into a Mariological devotion by a shift of focus; the emphasis lies not in the narrative of Christ's life, but rather on the Virgin's grieving reaction to her son's tragedies."

⁵⁸ Ibid., 5.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 6.

⁶⁰ Chris Brooke, *The Gothic Revival* (London: Phaidon Press, 1999), 276. It should be noted that Great Britain, France, and ironically, Germany, had a major role in spreading the Gothic Revival style to Belgium and the Netherlands.

⁶¹ Ibid., 370.

⁶² Ibid., 276. "The Belgian Revival was fueled by an alliance between Catholics and liberals that saw the country's medieval architecture as a source of national pride, promoting the erection and restoration of gothic churches as both a religious and patriotic duty."

⁶³ Louis Raemaekers and James Murray Allison, *Raemaekers' Cartoon History of the War* (New York, The Century Co., 1918-1919) 90. Whitney Warren's *Official Report to the French Government* described the attack on Rheims, "On Sept. 19th the cathedral was fairly riddled by bombs during the entire day, and at about 3:45 the scaffolding surrounding the north tower caught fire. This fire lasted about one hour, and during that time two further bombs struck the roof, setting it also on fire. The monument, about which no troops were massed, towers above the rest of the town; to avoid it, in view of the uselessness of destroying it and because it was serving as a hospital, would have been an easy matter. It would seem that the only explanation which can be offered was blind rage upon the part of the besieging army."

⁶⁴ de Ranitz, 88-9. "In the autumn of 1914, Raemaekers' candour soon got him into trouble. At the end of September, a cartoon inspired by the devastation of the French city of Reims on 19 September and entitled 'The very Stones cry out!' [*Als de steenen spreken!*] (23 September 1914) caused a considerable stir. He depicted a German soldier kneeling between the statues of the Virgin Mary and Saint Anthony, both of whom are pointing at him accusingly; in the background, we see the devastated cathedral. The caption reads The Saints of Reims Cathedral: 'Thou are the man!'" Link to image from Hathitrust: <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/osu.32435054749577?urlappend=%3Bseq=25>

⁶⁵ Ibid., 89-90.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 77.

⁶⁷ Strachen, *First World War*, 49.

⁶⁸ Louis Raemaekers, *America in the War* (New York: The Century Co., 1918), 43. Link to image from Hathitrust: <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/gri.ark:/13960/t7vm6qb3k?urlappend=%3Bseq=53>

⁶⁹ Ibid., 62-63.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 100-01. Link to image from Hathitrust: <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/gri.ark:/13960/t7vm6qb3k?urlappend=%3Bseq=75>

⁷¹ Ibid., 110-11.

⁷² de Ranitz, 220-23.

⁷³ Ibid., 232.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 224.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 226.

⁷⁶ Ibid. "Early in 1927, [Mussolini] invited the artist to create a portrait of him. Flattered by the attention, Raemaekers gladly accepted. At the time, Churchill was still a great admirer of *Il Duce*, and his opinion will certainly have influenced the artist."

⁷⁷ Ibid., 247. The cartoon was published in the *Herald* on September 10, 1941.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 251.

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